F.O.R. Fellowship

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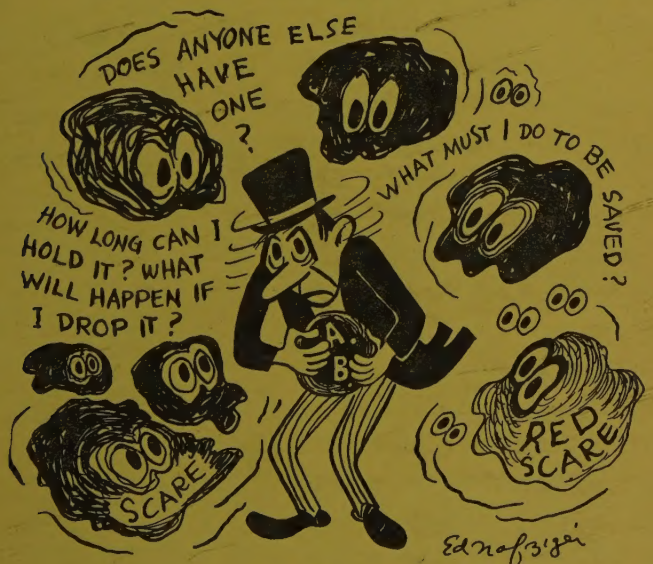
DOES ANYONE ELSE HAVE ONE ?
WHAT MUST I DO TO BE SAVED ?
HOW LONG CAN I HOLD IT ? WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I DROP IT ?
A
B
SCARE
RED SCARE
Ed Nofziger

Paranoia: The Man with a Bomb

Total Disarmament or Total War, by John M. Swomley,

The For-God's-Sakers, by Milton Mayer

The Melted Stone, by Edith Hunter

Utopianism in Christianity by A. J. Muste

ff This column is going out of business if Muste and Swomley continue to turn out articles at their present rate. Most of FELLOWSHIP's readers have a pretty good idea by now who Muste and Swomley are, and we can't think up something new to say about them every month, unless you'd be interested to know that John occasionally reads mystery novels for relaxation and that A. J., though he looks down on mysteries as a total waste of time, likes to go to a Marx brothers' movie every now and then. . . . In this issue John presents the case for disarmament as the indispensable ingredient of peace, and A. J., in the third of his series on neo-orthodox criticisms of pacifism, discusses Utopianism in Christianity. . . . Edith Hunter returns to the pages of FELLOWSHIP with The Melted Stone, which is short, but very much to the most important present point, which is survival . . . while Milton Mayer writes about the impetuous reformers, (of whom he may very well be one of the most impetuous), and where they are going.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

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Subheads

Discussion

"The trouble with you pacifists," said the blond man with the running sore on his cheek, "is that you aren't realistic. You don't have any real answer to the question of what to do about evil."

"Sure we have," his companion, dark and unshaven, retorted. "We have two answers: aggressive good will and nonviolent resistance."

The blond man snorted contemptuously.

"Nonviolent poppycock!" he said. "How far do you think that sort of stuff would get with people like Stalin and the Communists?"

"Look," said the pacifist, "you have to begin with the question of how successfully you can resist people like Stalin and the Communists by violent means. How many times have you heard a scientist warn that use of atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, and germ warfare might depopulate the earth?"

There was a long silence; then the blond man sighed deeply.

"You're right there, of course." He stood up and brushed dust from his bare legs, then stopped and looked at the stone on which he had been sitting. It was a plain block of granite, and graven on it were the words: "Five Hundred Fifth Avenue." He sighed again.

"You know," he said irrelevantly, "I think what I miss most is the New York skyline. That's even worse than facing the future with nobody ever to talk to again but you."

Dangerous

We have a letter from *The Nation,* informing us that it is shortly going to begin publishing some anonymous articles containing the "dangerous thoughts" of twenty-five very successful writers. These writers, says *The Nation,* have had these "desperately sincere" pieces bottled up inside them for years, but dare not submit them to their usual publication sources or even write them under their own names.

The idea may be a good one as a circulation stunt, and no one could

blame the editors of *The Nation* for jumping at it, but we suspect the writers are not going to be as happy about it as they may think. Anonymous rebellion is a contradiction in terms. Defiance loses its effectiveness when it is the unsigned sentence scrawled on a wall in the night by someone who is a collaborationist the rest of the time.

It is the nature of man to rebel against the dehumanizing aspects of modern society. It is also his nature to try to nourish his rebellion and his personal comfort side by side, but the job is impossible, as the twenty-five writers will discover. Either you hold to one and despise the other, or you hate the one and love the other.

Our own advice to the writers is to sign their names or forget the whole thing.

Rug

We have been fascinated by the idea of buying Queen Mary's rug, and if it weren't that we suspect the price will be more than the fifteen dollars we have currently available, the Governor of the Bank of England could be looking for a bid from us in the morning.

It isn't exactly that we have such an urge to possess the rug itself, though the newspaper pictures make it look very nice. It's more that we keep wondering what you do with a large piece of needlepoint made by the Dowager Queen of England. Presumably someone is going to buy it for a considerable amount more than the rug would bring as just a rug, since the Queen shipped it over here as a means of getting dollars for her beleaguered Socialists. But then what? You hang it on the wall of your livin room, say, and wait for people t notice it. So some people come t see you, and after the conventiona greetings are over, someone spie the rug.

"Hey," he says, "nice rug. New isn't it?"

"Uh-huh," you say. "Just got it Paid a packet for it, too. Quee Mary made it, you know."

"No!" says the guest. "Quee Mary, eh?"

"With her own hands," you elab orate. "Took her nine years. Sh started in 1941 and worked righ through the war. Some days sh did four stitches a minute for si or seven hours."

"Well, I never," says the guest.

Then what?

Does a discussion start on how clever queens are these days? O course, if the rug hadn't bee started until 1945, the Socialist could brag that the Labor govern ment got even the royal family t work, but that doesn't sound lik the kind of argument a perso would enjoy who had enough mon ey to buy the thing in the firs place. The thing has us baffled.

Subversive

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has endorsed an American Legion proposal to establish a "clearing house for information" on subversive individuals and organizations, reports Religious News Service. The Council explained its support by saying that it hoped to protect American institutions against Communist infiltration.

We suspect the Federal Council of mixed motives: on the one hand

the wistful hope that its influence may restrain the more hot-headed witch-hunters and induce them to accept some "positive" approaches to the problem of communism in America; on the other, a no less wistful hope that by joining such obviously "American" groups as the Legion it will demonstrate beyond cavil its own complete "loyalty."

For what it is worth, our own prediction is that the Council will lose out on both counts. By its endorsement of the clearing house it will help smear the Legion's victims in the eyes of many who would discount the Legion's word alone. And as for its own reputation, no amount of hobnobbing with professional patriots will save that when the time comes. Already the Council is under attack as a "communistic" group by the American Council of Churches (fundamentalist), aided and abetted by John T. Flynn. These boys are not really merely anti-Communist; they are anti-everything that would interfere with the *status quo*, and that inevitably must include the Churches of Christ.

Un-American

The Federal Council executives might do worse than consider the plight of the San Diego city council, which recently changed its mind about inscribing the "Four Freedoms" on a war memorial when a local resident protested the "ideology involved."

The resident, Admiral William H. Standley, retired, who was once Ambassador to Russia under President Roosevelt, said that freedom from want and fear is un-American. Commented the Admiral:

"Freedom from want is a Russian communistic slogan. A fellow who is free from want is dead. Freedom from fear is a political slogan. Our American pioneers did not have to apologize for their fear of the Indians."

P. S.:

Also the Keep America Committee, which is distributing literature widely identifying anyone who believes in world government as—you guessed it—un-American.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

Modern man's life expectancy is about three years if present political trends continue, said Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, recently. Please walk, do not run, to the nearest exit.

* * *

Dr. Harold C. Urey, admitting that he is "scared to death," said that he sometimes feels that prayer is the only answer to East-West difficulties and wishes he had a "direct line to the Almighty." Then he added: "There is absolutely no chance of an agreement with Russia on the atom and hydrogen bombs. It would be impossible for us to accept any offer Russia might make to us." We doubt that *that* came from the direct line.

* * *

Henry Bailey Stevens, FOR member, won the $1,000 award for the best humanitarian book of the year from the Millennium Guild of New York, for his book *The Recovery of Culture*.

Total Disarmament or Total War

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

WE FACE TWO ALTERNATIVES in our generation—total disarmament or total war. Russia and the United States face each other across a complex of economic, social, political and cultural problems that have been building and hardening for centuries, and that are still developing. In a situation like the tense one we now face, with fear and hysteria on both sides and with armaments being piled higher day by day, a small crisis in any corner of the world may flare into a world war.

The nature of the weapons that have been developed makes a mere reduction in armaments useless. A nucleus of armaments would be the basis for quick expansion if a serious crisis developed. In such a situation any nation contemplating aggression would obviously plan it in terms of the most deadly weapons available. Likewise, any nation thinking of defense or retaliation would want the most destructive weapons. Since the deadly weapons now available can destroy whole cities in one blow, everyone is insecure. In an unarmed world there is leeway for the human mistakes that are bound to be made. Once nations are thoroughly armed and in a state of tension no nation can afford a mistake, since it may lead to war.

War-making is a complex business requiring vast natural and industrial resources, so that a major war today involves virtually everyone on the earth, certainly everyone in the countries that are at war. So long as there are armed nations competing for military supremacy, for control of the world's resources, and for the loyalty of peoples, military men will want to anticipate the day of attack by some degree of advance mobilization. The framework of mobilization, they argue, must be functioning well in advance of war.

For the greatest efficiency, obviously, such mobilization would reach into every area of our lives. It would freeze workers in industries contributing to the war machine, and draft them into it where needed. It would keep in uniform and highly trained a force of men and women which the military considered sufficient to repel attack (although supersonic rockets and atomic bombs have created doubt in the minds of many military men as to the usefulness of large armed forces). It would control research not only in weapons and germ warfare but in many other areas of life as well, for the greater efficiency of the army and of the civilian population, which would be simply a division of the army if war comes.

Albert Einstein has said that "Restrictive measures will be required by the necessities of the situation, not through the conspiracy

of wilful men. Starting with the fantastic guardianship now imposed on innocent physics professors, outmoded thinkers will insidiously change men's lives more completely than did Hitler, for the forces behind them will be more compelling." Total war involves not only tremendous physical destruction but an even more inclusive regimentation of the people, which can have as devastating and widespread effects.

Preparation for total war is expensive, demanding that the wealth of nations be placed in weapons instead of food. Men are drafted, or hired as soldiers, instead of being employed to produce the needs and comforts of life. A nation that spends its wealth on the materials of war can provide fewer goods and services to raise the standard of living of its people. Elaborate weapons, including rockets, tanks, warships, planes, and a huge standing army, eat up the money that might be spent on public health, education and housing. Therefore if the people of the world are to have peace, security, freedom and a decent standard of living, they must insist on total disarmament.

The recognition of this need for disarmament and the abolition of war has grown as men's fears and insecurities have grown. The diverse motivation and the insistent need for disarmament were recognized in the Atlantic Charter, which said: "All of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force."

Despite this need, which most people will grant, those who believe in disarmament stumble most frequently over one question: "Can we give up armaments without first substituting some procedure for solving problems and protecting ourselves?" This doubt, it seems to me, is based on two false assumptions: 1) that armaments or wars solve problems, and 2) that in the atomic age there is such a thing as physical protection or security.

The Power Struggle

Although its causes were complex, and reach into many areas of life, broadly one may say that World War II was fought to prevent one nation from gaining control over a large portion of Europe and another from gaining control in the Far East; to end dictatorship, and to free oppressed peoples from concentration camps. Yet today the power struggle is as raw and brazen as in 1939, the recent war has created tremendous problems, both physical and psychological, with which we have barely begun to deal, and another nation, having made the most of conditions created by World War II, controls even more of Europe and Asia than did Germany and Japan. Nor can we overlook the increased and increasing power of the United States, whose pacts and tremendous wealth give it influence far beyond its borders. Dictatorship has not been ended, and more millions suffer in concentration camps than before the war.

Most people, trained in the tradition that goes back to the cavemen, see security in terms of physical might and, on a national scale, in the power of armaments. In a time when the means of warfare are so deadly and destructive that whatever the outcome the nations of both sides are physically, econom-

ically and morally exhausted, the word defense has become meaningless. It signifies, at best, the ability to destroy the enemy's country while he is destroying yours.

No Security

W. J. Millor, S. J., summed up the political problem when he said: "A system in which each step to increase one's security threatens that of his neighbor is a system which makes security impossible and war inevitable. Security cannot be attained through national military power."

Albert Einstein, speaking from a slightly different point of view, wrote: "Scientists do not even know of any field which promises us any hope of adequate defense. The military-minded cling to old methods of thinking and one Army department has been surveying the possibilities of going underground and in wartime placing factories in places like Mammoth Cave." He added: "Reasonable men with these new facts to consider refuse to contemplate a future in which our culture would attempt to survive in ribbons or in underground tombs. Neither is there reassurance in proposals to keep a hundred thousand men alert along the coasts scanning the sky with radar. There is no radar defense against the V-2, and should a 'defense' be developed after years of research, it is not humanly possible for any defense to be perfect. Should one rocket with atomic war-head strike Minneapolis, that city would look almost exactly like Nagasaki."

Despite these facts, a considerable number of intellectuals in searching for security talk of establishing world government or world law before disarmament is practicable. They argue that nations will disarm only when there is some super-government with machinery to enforce the peace and adjudicate disputes.

The problems presented by such a plan have been spelled out for us in practice by the United Nations. Fearing one another, they have clung to their armaments, and the problems on which they differed at San Francisco are still problems, considerably aggravated by the growth of an arms race. The framework is there, but the differences have so far proved greater than the ability of the framework to draw the nations together.

The crucial aspect of national sovereignty is the right and ability of nations to wage war. If they can renounce that right and by total disarmament eliminate any ability to make war, they will be forced to find peaceful solutions to their other problems, which are many, complex and basic. On the other hand, the continued possession of arms and the fact of armed power will carry suspicion and fear into every conference, whose only hope of success must be founded on mutual trust and interdependence. For any real and lasting solution to international problems, the nations will have to recognize that this is a first step. If they have no intention of disarming, they have no real intention of making a world government work.

The establishment of total disarmament is not only an early necessity for any world government, but would, if achieved, make world government virtually inevitable. The working out of such disarmament would create the conviction

of good intentions by all the nations participating, and open the way to negotiations on other problems. The inspection machinery required to assure the perpetuation of the fact of disarmament would be the beginning of the international machinery of law and order.

In the second place, those who proclaim the idea of world government while also advocating national armaments are supporting two mutually exclusive ideas. Some spokesmen for world government have advocated peacetime military conscription for the United States, others have urged a 70-group air force. One well-known publisher testified in favor of the North Atlantic Pact on behalf of the United World Federalists. Such activity in the promotion of national armaments strengthens nationalism and makes world government progressively more difficult to achieve. Moreover, it encourages the armaments race and heightens fear throughout the world, which inevitably strengthens the hand of reaction in the form of both militarism and nationalism. Disarmament and not rearmament must precede world law.

In the third place, those who oppose disarmament by claiming that a world government is needed to enforce the peace have not really dealt with the problem of war. Under a world government, if any nation or even the world government itself were permitted to have armies and armaments to use in times of crisis there would always be the danger of civil war. A genuine world government cannot be established without the danger of civil war if national armaments are permitted to continue. If there were no national armaments there would be no need for world armies. Under a world government based on some such democratic federation as that of the states in the United States, police power directed against individuals would be the province of each state, and the police power of the world federation, likewise directed against law-breaking individuals, would be exercised in such interstate matters as the prevention of smuggling, or in areas where there is an attempt to rearm, such as to prevent the use of a laboratory or factory for making weapons.

A Partial Federation?

Still another problem confronting those who plead for world government either without disarmament or prior to it is seen in their willingness to establish a partial federation in view of the possibility that the Soviet Union, or some other power, may reject the offer to join. If the Soviet Union did refuse to join such a world government, it would presumably build up its own group of armed nations, while the "world government," composed of the western nations, would establish *its* armed federation. But wherein would the world scene be basically changed from the present power struggle pattern? The only difference is that if actual shooting should begin, the idea of world government would provide the moral justification for World War III. Instead of "making the world safe for democracy" or fighting to establish "the four freedoms," nations would be fighting to establish world government.

A second major question raised today in discussions on disarma-

ment is this: "Are not armaments only a sympton of the war system, rather than a cause of war in the sense that economic, political, and social factors breed conflict?" The way this question is often stated implies 1) that competitive armaments are not in themselves a cause of war, and 2) that men could retain armaments and not use them if all other causes of war were eliminated, or 3) that if all other causes of war were eliminated men would automatically disarm.

A former British Foreign Minister, Lord Gray, wrote of World War I: "The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them —it was these that made war inevitable." Likewise, armaments played a part in the causation of World War II. British military expert Liddell Hart has pointed out that the military alliance of Poland, Britain, and France, together with the passage of the largest armaments bill in British history, were among the factors leading to war tension and counter moves such as the Nazi-Soviet Alliance. It is obvious that among the major factors making for tension in international relations today are 1) the way in which national military power is used to intimidate less powerful neighbors, 2) the use of armaments to check the expansion of other powerful nations, and 3) the mere knowledge that Russia and the United States both have a decisive weapon like the atom bomb, which in turn has intensified the armaments race.

Moreover I have never been convinced that, as some people argue, all that is needed is to eliminate capitalism or change the economic system to end wars. The three largest military establishments in the world today are in the hands of capitalist United States, communist Russia and socialist Great Britain. (None of these, of course, is purely one or the other, but they do differ in important respects.) In spite of this, the maintenance of armies and armaments injures the economy of each of the three systems. It is one of the important factors leading toward regimentation in Britain and the United States, and one of the essentials of totalitarianism in Russia. So long as there are huge armaments, including conscription, it will be impossible for people to establish an economy which eliminates tension by guaranteeing everyone a decent standard of living. It will be equally impossible without disarmament to enlarge the areas of man's freedom from regimentation and state control. This means that the fact of armaments has a bearing on all other causes of war. It is impossible to eliminate other causes of war without eliminating armaments.

"My feeling is that a man should die rather than be made a soldier against his will. One's country has no right to demand everything. There is much that is higher and better and greater than one's country. One is patriotic only because one is too small and weak to be cosmopolitan. If a country cannot get along without conscription it had better give up and let its children seek other ties."

—Anthony Trollope

The Melted Stone

By EDITH HUNTER

SHE LOOKED DREAMILY across her dish of warm carrots and mashed potatoes and hamburg steak. From the expression on her four-and-a-half-year-old face, I could tell that one of her long, long thoughts was about to emerge, and that my cooking was to fall victim to a greater hunger.

"Mother," she said, "was that nice red stone that I found today *really* all melted and runny, once upon a time?"

"Yes," I said, "it was. Because, once upon a time, we think our world was a part of the sun."

"Daddy says that the sun is a star, only close, is it?" she asked.

"Yes, it is, dear. It is a big ball of fire. Somehow a piece broke off. That piece is our world ball. After it broke off it began to cool. That's when your stone got hard."

"Was that before Granfanny was a little girl?" she asked.

"Oh long before that, long, long, long, long before that. You see for a very long time there wasn't anything alive on our world. Then, no one knows how, things began to grow. There were ferns and funguses and mosses, and there were little tiny animals. Then there were bigger and bigger ones, and after another long time, there were people."

"Yes, I know," she smiled brightly, "those were the Indians."

"Well, yes," I said, "almost the Indians," not knowing whether I had let a few thousand or a few million years slip by.

"Mother," she said, "did the Indians have guns?"

"No," I answered, "when the Pilgrims came to our country—"

"Who were the Pilgrims?"

"The Pilgrims were people who lived in England and who wanted to leave. They heard about how much land there was in this country and how few people there were, so they came here. They had guns."

"The Indians just had bows and arrows, didn't they, Mother?"

"Yes," I said.

"But they knew about corn," she said, digging into her meager store of knowledge.

"Yes, that's right, and they taught the Pilgrims how to grow corn. You see when the Pilgrims came they didn't bring much food with them and the Indians helped them. Then more and more people heard about this country, and decided to come over too. But they needed the land the Indians had, and so, because they sometimes just took it, with their guns, the Indians and Pilgrims began to fight—"

"I know Mother, on our Common there's a man with a gun. He was in that first war, and there are names of the ones that were in the second war."

"Oh, did Daddy tell you about that?"

"Yes, Mother." And then she

looked at me so earnestly, wishing to fill in the last correct detail of cosmic history. "Mother," she said, "were there two wars?"

And then, as casually as I could, but it is hard to be casual when time confronts eternity, I said, "Oh more than that dear, many more."

Lost in thought, she picked up her fork, unconcerned that her dinner was cold.

But mine was far, far colder. I thought how, all too soon, bit by bit, the rest of the grim detail will be filled in. And when she will have learned about red skins, and white skins, and brown skins; about the hunger for land, and the hunger for power, and the hunger for freedom; about how much it matters that we say the right words about how the world began and where life comes from, then the rest of the wars will fall neatly into place, unless, of course, there isn't time.

For I did not tell her that perhaps her lovely stone will once again be all melted and runny. Because now we know how to become, for one heroic moment, almost a part of the sun again. And when our earth ball cools and the runny stone gets hard once more, there will be no little girl to find it, for a long, long time.

Alas, I Know

It is so easy to say,
If earth were purged of all my enemies
then I could worship God in my own way
and be at peace.
See, evil is so ranged on every hand
that I must stand
a lamb among ferocious lions of fate,
nations that fight each other,
men who hate,
doom that towers cloudlike on the helpless sky.
So day and night with trembling voice I cry
against the shape of murder in my land.
I cry that earth make peace that I may live.

Alas, I know
the world is but the mirror of my heart.
God made it one
but I divide it daily, bid the sun
shine upon those I choose, bid evil rain
on those I dare not love.
As long as I still hold the world apart
in my own breast for any fear or gain
how can I hope that others will lay down
their enmities?
I come before God's throne,
the father of all men, and cry for peace
yet will my brother's death before my own.

—Peggy Pond Church

WHETHER PACIFISTS ARE BLINDLY HOPING FOR THE IMPOSSIBLE IS THE QUESTION IN

Utopianism in Christianity

By A. J. MUSTE

THE DOCTRINE OF UTOPIANISM holds a key position in scriptural and Christian teaching about the nature and goal of society or history. Unless there is a strong reaffirmation of the revolutionary Christian hope of God's kingdom on earth, the battle against war and communism cannot be effectively waged and a democratic world order achieved.

There is general agreement that the Judaeo-Christian faith is a dynamic one. It emphasizes the concepts of purpose and goal both for the individual and for mankind or society. It is, as has often been remarked, an historical religion. It is in history that God is incarnated and reveals himself. His will is worked out in the history of his people and of mankind.

As the Genesis account of Abraham and the commentary upon it in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews reminds us, the important thing in the biblical world-view is always the city that still lies ahead, which has truer and more divine foundations than the city where one now is. The decisive thing about any man or society is not the city to which it is bound because of what has happened before, but the city to which it is called by God.

The concept of freedom for the individual and of a free society, which is of such vital importance in the western tradition, derives largely from this biblical teaching. Clearly under that teaching no existing "city"—institution, state, church, economic order—has an absolute right over the individual or an absolute claim upon his allegiance.

Furthermore, this prophetic view of history is revolutionary in the most drastic sense. When we argue, as do the Niebuhrians, that the city which is to be stands in judgment over every existing city or society, *we* take this to mean that God demands of every society that it meet the divine specifications.

To proclaim *this* society, in which men shall live as brothers in God and the will of the Father be done on earth as in heaven, is ever the task of the true Church. This is what it means to be salt that has not lost its savor, leaven that has not ceased to ferment, a light that is not hid under a bushel, a voice that speaks to men in the name of God and does not simply repeat what they tell each other.

That it is the will of God that the society of righteousness, brotherhood and peace be established on earth seems to me impossible to dispute on scriptural or Christian grounds. I do not see how the purpose of God, as revealed in Jesus,

could well be anything else, and it cannot logically be held that God's purpose is incapable of realization.

Judgment for What?

The repeated neo-orthodox assertion that every human social achievement stands under the "judgment" of God and of his holy and perfect purpose for mankind makes no sense whatever unless mankind actually is called to conform to that purpose, and it obviously is not so called if it knows in advance that it cannot so conform. But indeed mankind, for all its confusion and corruption, will not give up its quest for that city which hath foundations, for as surely as the human being was made for God and turns to him, so surely was man made to live in that community of love, and in no other.

I do not believe that the neo-orthodox theologians succeed in resolving the enigma of life and history by asserting that we apprehend by faith that the love which is revealed in Christ and which "is defeated in the actual course of history," will ultimately "beyond history resolve life's ambiguities." What we learn from the essential prophetic and Christian world-view is that God does incarnate himself in history; that man's historic task is to serve this God and to build a community in which men live as kings and priests to God; and that God in Christ is forever working redemptively in history, demonstrating that in this community and in nothing else or less is the meaning of the existence of the human race on earth, and waiting to bestow upon men the power to realize that meaning. It is our experience of this inexorable purpose and limitless grace of God in our own lives and in the history of mankind—our experience in history of the power of love and the Cross to resolve contradictions and overcome evil—that provides us with our sole basis for any real knowledge of or faith in the divine power beyond history. The argument, "We see the weakness of love demonstrated in history, therefore we shall see its power demonstrated beyond history" is logically a non sequitur and practically, as Marx charged, "opiate of the people," reactionary and counter-revolutionary in its effect.

The Niebuhrian treatment of the Cross is also unsatisfactory in this connection. It is time that the "weakness" of a Messiah "without a sword," (to use Machiavelli's phrase); a revolutionary who will not build his kingdom on violence, is displayed on the Cross for all to behold. To leave it there, however, is certainly not scriptural or Christian, nor is it in accord with the simple facts of history. Divine power was released into history in that event. It is not the Cross in the context in which the neo-orthodox theologians constantly speak of it that either in fact or in the Christian world view stands in isolation at the center—or "on the border"—of history. It is the incarnation, the life of Jesus, the Cross, the Resurrection, the Church, and the world which for two thousand years has not been able to take its eyes off the man who hung upon the Cross. The Lamb that was slain is in the midst of the throne. God has not abandoned this "history" in which you and I live to Hitler or Stalin, to Russia or to the United States. He

has not abandoned it to any secular or merely human forces. He maintains his purpose and covenant of old to make "the kingdoms of this world . . . become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ." It is still the mission of his Church to proclaim this divine purpose, and not something other or less.

Not "The End"

Amsterdam is right: "The world is in God's hands. His purpose may be thwarted and delayed, but it cannot be finally frustrated. This is the meaning of history which forbids despair or surrender to the fascinating belief in power as a solvent of human trouble. . . . Nothing is impossible with God . . . We are laborers together with God, who in Christ gives us the way of overcoming demonic forces in history."

Nor do I believe that the apocalyptic passages in the Gospels and in Revelation leave room only for the Niebuhrian interpretation. In the passages referred to the titanic conflicts in "the last days" do not constitute "the end." The end is not the battle but the victory of the Lamb and of those who have taken up their cross and followed him. "They reign upon the earth."

It is true that when the seer, either in the Old Testament or the New, steeped in the prophetic world view, contemplates the historic situation, he pronounces judgment and doom upon it. But precisely because the city of stagnation and corruption is falling to pieces, new and revolutionary possibilities open up again.

So the cry of judgment and doom issues as it were from one side of the prophet's mouth while the cry of hope, "The kingdom of God is at hand!" issues out of the other. There is no hope because of your sin and there is infinite hope if you will but repent and believe, because there is the infinite grace of God and his majestic and unalterable purpose—this is the prophetic and apocalyptic message.

Choice Between Absolutes

Any culture or civilization that does not have this vision of sin, judgment and righteousness will be a very different one from the Christian civilization—imperfect as it has been—that we have known. It will be like the nightmare George Orwell pictures in his novel *1984*. The choice today, whatever may have been the case in the past, is indubitably between a civilization Christian in its very essence or a totalitarianism that is no longer human in any sense known to us. Social scientists, philosophers and theologians may still discuss, as they do, whether the world community in which men live together in truth and love as children of God is "the goal of history" and whether men can achieve that goal. In the meantime the scientists who have unlocked the secret of the atom have already created the situation that means we have to choose, not among relativities that leave us at ease and free to guess again another day, but between "absolutes." Men who hold in their hands the awful powers we now have or presently shall, either rise spiritually to the stature of the sons of God who know how to renounce power for themselves or for any doubtful end, or they will perish.

One of the most serious criticisms to be made of neo-orthodox the-

ology is that for all its emphasis on sin and judgment its effect is to blur this concept of the seriousness and absoluteness of the issues of history. It is true that somewhere, according to this theology, God's purpose stands in judgment over all. But it is far away, not here. It is then—"beyond history"—not now. Here and now it is a matter of "relativities and ambiguities," not a decision for Christ or Satan. This is taught us because if we regard what we have built as absolute, then we shall be self-righteous, arrogant, unmerciful.

Other Temptations

This last is true and we need to take it to heart. But man is subjected to more than one temptation, and the temptation to absolutize his own achievements may not be the most serious or pervasive. That temptation may be rather not to see that it is God with whom we have to reckon, his absolute and eternal purpose for mankind that we are bidden to forward, and that the judgment that will overtake us if we strive for a lesser purpose will not be relative and ambiguous but, as our fathers believed, concrete and total.

Was it "relativities and ambiguities" that men were choosing between when they rejected and crucified Christ or chose to leave all and follow him? It was not so then; and it is not so now. Any individual or church that concentrates even for a moment on the absolute nature of the decision that now confronts our world will either be plunged into complete despair and consequent impotence or will experience the agonies of true repentance and then realize at last that there is no hope save in *hoping all things* from God.

Consider now the bearing of what we have been saying about the Christian concept of man's historic task and the goal of history on the present situation. The Judaeo-Christian concept of the city that is to be, the concept that man by the grace of God can control his own destiny, is not bound to his past or an inexorable fate and has limitless possibilities, has played a role it would be difficult to exaggerate in shaping western civilization, and thus increasingly the whole of mankind.

So unmistakable and central is this vision in the Scriptures and so obvious and crucial has its role been that Niebuhr himself from time to time gives expression to it in terms that even the most unbridled liberal of an earlier day might have hesitated to use. Thus, alluding to a quaint phrase from one of the Sixteenth Century sectarians, Niebuhr writes: "There are no limits to be set in history for the achievement of a more universal brotherhood, for the development of more perfect and more inclusive human relations. *All the characteristic hopes and aspirations of the Renaissance and Enlightenment, of both secular and religious liberalism,* are right at least in this, that they understand the side of Christian doctrine which regards the *agape* of the kingdom of God as a resource for *infinite developments toward a more perfect brotherhood* in history."[1] (Italics mine.)

In a period of crisis men are not

[1] R. Niebuhr, *Nature and Destiny of Man,* Vol. II, Harper and Brothers, p. 194.

able to rouse themselves to the herculean efforts required to break through to a radically new order of life, without such a hope in the possibility of infinite development toward a more perfect brotherhood in history. They cannot make the terrible sacrifices required unless they believe that they are making them in a supreme cause and for the highest good. We stand today at perhaps the most critical moment in the history of mankind, and it is appalling to realize that the Christian churches and religious teachers of Europe and America are not proclaiming the great Hope and in its name summoning men to revolutionary action.

Yesterday it was the liberals in the churches and the Socialists, in and out of the churches, who offered that hope. Today it is the Communists. There is no space to discuss in what respects they were or are in error; but it is not in holding before men the vision and hope of a liberated and redeemed humanity.

Why is it that theologians and Christian leaders who can make such ringing declarations of Christian hope and prophetic utopianism can nevertheless place their main emphasis on extremely pessimistic views of history and present possibilities? How is it that they insist that the best we can do is deal with "relativities and ambiguities," and nearly always in the crucial moment support the "relativities and ambiguities" for which their respective nations go to war? The Orthodox Church does that in Russia and most of the churches in the Atlantic Pact countries do about the same. Why is it that Christian leaders, instead of being engaged in the daring and revolutionary action so obviously needed, are politically mainly identified with the same positions as the non-Christian, secular liberals, and have no distinctive, Christian program to offer?

Here it is legitimate to remind some of our physicians of their own prescription, though it is necessary to do so in love and with restraint. Teachers who are in the condition just described might rationalize their own impotence and that of the society to which they belong by means of a philosophy that argues man's general inability to solve the problems of his history. They might even suggest that man's attempt to master his historical task would be an evidence of self-sufficiency, pride and "pretension."

Crisis of Our Age

I think something of this sort is happening because the historical crisis of the atomic age cannot be dealt with effectively by Christian leaders or churches that do not break unequivocally with war. These are, therefore, bound to be pessimistic and to attempt to rationalize "the relativities and ambiguities" in which they are enmeshed. There are two chief reasons why this is so.

In the first place, it has become impossible for Christian leaders or churches to drift toward atomic and biological war with any feeling of satisfaction and hope. If Christian teachers are not going to draw the line at atomic and biological war, they are obviously not going to draw the line at all. Under these circumstances no responsible Christian teacher can be easy at heart. I am sure none is. But until the

break has been made, such men are bound to be pessimistic, to regard history as essentially tragic, and to verge on fatalism.

Secondly, it is western civilization and the western nations that these Christians wish to save. That is the meaning of the policy of the Atlantic Pact and the national programs of the western nations. But in its historic or present form this western society cannot be saved. Colonialism cannot be saved. The American economy, based on having the United States as rich as the rest of the world put together, cannot be saved. Democratic nations that embark on atomic and biological war cannot be saved, at least not as democratic nations.

Human Self-Will

Those who identify themselves with a dying order have to develop a pessimistic philosophy. They cannot speak persuasively of infinite historic possibilities. And again, they cannot be easy at heart. For the question must surely be raised whether the most stupendous example of human self-will and "pretension" may not be given by those who still think that the western world as it is today can be saved, or who at any rate try to save it, and can contemplate using atomic and biological war for the purpose.

The Communists look upon the same world as the rest of us and they are not pessimistic. They believe they can solve the problem of history. They may be wrong, but they can believe it because they are not trying to save the existing order. They can hope, and no one will dispute that it gives them a tremendous advantage.

The Early Christians were not pessimists either, and one decisive reason was that they did not identify themselves, their own future, or that of the Church, with the Roman political order of the day or with the Hellenistic culture. They knew that these were not based on the specifications of their Lord and therefore could not endure. There would be a new heaven and a new earth.

This is the perennial Christian hope. That the Church should proclaim it again is the desperate need of our age. It is also the condition on which the Church itself can experience another Pentecost. For this reason Daniel Day Williams' recent defense of Christian utopianism is an important and encouraging portent, the more so because this critique of certain aspects of neo-orthodoxy comes from a nonpacifist source. Says Dr. Williams:[2]

> Utopianism in the Christian hope is the willingness to let the old order be shaken to pieces and to believe that a better is possible under God who is forever making "a new heaven and a new earth."

Once again, however, if we are to be found faithful and are not to fall under "the greater condemnation," we must end on the note of confession. We have charged that certain of our Christian leaders are pessimists and defeatists and fail to sound the note of revolutionary Christian hope because they are driven to rationalize their continued attempt to save an order that cannot and ought not be saved. That charge is, I firmly believe, warranted. But who are the greater

(*Continued on page* 32)

[2] Daniel Day Williams, *God's Grace and Man's Hope*, Harpers, New York, 1949, p. 162.

MILTON MAYER writes about

The "For-God's-Sakers"

IN THE MIDST OF MY WORRIES about means and ends—when there is nothing else to worry about, there is always means and ends—I came across a letter written in reply to the suggestion that an article be written about a certain small and consecrated religious group. The writer of the letter was giving his opinion of the group's attitude toward the proposal:

> Self-perfection must inevitably be a most intimate process; it can be promoted through common effort within a close circle of "seekers"—but to carry its principles and concepts among the multitudes, without any serious effort to gain their loyalty for them, would be a useless catering to curiosity. I myself got into trouble last year when our organization arranged a talk by one of the leading personalities of . . . here on a visit from . . . , and I put a notice in the press; I was taken to task, for "how can one speak about prayer"—the topic of the evening—"to people with whom one has not first developed a common language?" Indeed, publicity, since it serves no useful purpose, must be conceived as the expression of a more or less veiled desire for self-assertion whose satisfaction can only obstruct one's quest for perfection.

This letter, though it was not addressed to me, and though it referred to a movement whose purpose, namely, perfection, is much higher than pacifism's, nevertheless diverted my worry from the means and ends of pacifism to the means alone.

I think that there is a real, though half hidden, schism in the pacifist movement. I think it has always been there. And I think that I do not know which branch of the schism I belong to; so many men and women who are so much better than I am (in pacifist or any other terms) belong to each branch that I don't know whom to follow. And I am by nature a great follower.

The schism occurs, as I say, in the area of means, as most schisms do. As to the end, pacifists want peace, work for peace, and will not fight. There is unity there. But the means divide us, it seems to me, into two camps which, if I may oversimplify a little more recklessly than usual, may be classified as the *political* and the *personal*.

I myself lean—I'm a great leaner—toward the political. I'm an activist, an operator, a doer, a tactician, a strategist. I concern myself instinctively with strategy. I am what Cleo Blackburn would call a "for-God's-saker," the kind of person who, when he hears that something is doing or ought to be done, grabs his hat and hollers, "For God's sake, let's go!"

I think that most pacifists, and, by necessity, all professional pacifists, are, like me, "for-God's-sakers." We want to be effective. We want to make friends, if possible, but to influence people in any case. We want to be heard on the Hill. We want to increase our numbers, influence elections, and bring

peace on earth a week from Thursday.

At the other extreme are those who are essentially *personal* in their means. We activists sometimes call them perfectionists, just as the nonpacifists call all of us perfectionists. We sometimes suspect their motives and their intentions. The reason for our suspicion is clear; they do not go up and down the land defying the decrees of Caesar, or they do not join committees, crusades, poster-walks, or excursions, and therefore they do not get into worldly trouble. But they are no more bogus pacifists than some of us activists are.

My little woman is connected, as was her mother before her, with one group of these "perfectionists," the Bible Students. There are many thousands of them in this country, and their pacifism, like ours, includes the love of each for all and all for each, regardless of, for instance, race or nation. They, like us, are all-out pacifists, but we do not find them, to any extent, in the organized or political pacifist movement.

They do not appear very much anywhere in the howl of our times, but I was interested to discover that not only I, but that other distinguished activist, the late Dr. Goebbels, had heard of them. In the only reference to pacifists in his *Diaries,* he writes:

> Himmler told me something about a question that is rather secondary; namely, that of the International Bible Students. These Bible Students are a queer mixture of contemporaries living outside our time. Their refusal to bear arms is usually not because of cowardice, but a matter of principle. That's why Himmler rightly takes this view: Objectors to military service who are beyond draft age should be put behind bars so that they cannot proselytize; objectors to military service, however, who are of draft age should be condemned to death for cowardice and desertion. Some of them accept the death penalty with absolute stoicism. The older Bible Students are giving an excellent account of themselves in concentration camp and are exceptionally able and dependable workers; they give us the least trouble of anybody there.

This I submit to you, at this time, without comment and with due acknowledgement to the author.

What worries me in some of the activities of us activists, especially in my own, is a tendency to do the right thing—always the right thing—but in such a way as to make it "effective." If, for example, we are going to be civilly disobedient, we tend to include among our preparations the consideration of maximum newspaper publicity. As pacifists, members of a creed rather than of a cult, we must not, of course, shrink from publicity and its unfavorable or favorable consequences. What worries me is the extent to which our preparations—and, all unconsciously, the activities themselves—revolve around that consideration.

I am, in one of my more shameful incarnations, an old publicity man. I know the spectacular tricks of the trade. I know how to "get" publicity for breweries, soap, and burlesque shows. I shudder, perhaps because of my unfortunate past, at "getting" publicity for pacifism.

Our activist preoccupation with getting attention stems, I think, from our conviction that we can actually be effective politically. We haven't been up to now. The pac-

ifist movement is certainly no bigger now than it ever was, and it never was big.

Maybe it is not meant to be big. Maybe the rise and decline of the Peace Pledge Union in England should be instructive to us. Maybe our function is not to make more pacifists but better pacifists. Maybe, since we do not have much success in conversion, we should place conversion lower in our allocation of activities and something else higher. Prayer, maybe, but how would I know?—I'm an activist.

I know the activist answer. (I ought to; I peddle it from every platform.) The activist answer is an impressive one: it is "Gandhi." Gandhi's *was* a political movement, and it succeeded politically.

I know.

But two items worry me there. One is the possibility that Gandhi did not succeed, that the nonviolent revolution which achieved the independence of India is not of quite the same order as our own nonviolent revolution and is not, moreover, too secure even two years after its founder's death. When Nehru says, in America, "We must defend ourselves against aggressors," and fails to insert the adverb, "nonviolently," I worry about the success of Gandhi.

The other item that worries me is Gandhi's disruption of the civil disobedience movement in 1930 (or was it 1931?) when violence broke out. I remember that the movement was on the very verge of success, but Gandhi called it off, saying that the outbreak of violence proved that he was not pure enough to lead it, and that any success that was not perfectly pure was impermanent.

Don't tell me that we pacifists have to be *even purer than Gandhi.* Don't tell me anything. Just let me worry.

Two Bits Worth

I heard some oath in boots mug the red beer
They cask in headlines North and South,
And I knew some bloody sots brewed pain
From such grain in a liar's mouth:

Wait—shall we foam the open ear to war again?
Such booted oaths led past a million graves to here.

—William Stafford

News from the Peace Front

Washington and St. Louis Workshops Progress

The Interracial Workshops planned by the FOR Race Relations Department for Washington, D. C., and St. Louis, Missouri, for the month of July will take place in the midst of a developing interracial situation in each city. In both cities last summer the openings of unsegregated pools were accompanied by interracial clashes. This summer two of St. Louis' pools will reopen on an interracial basis, and the Workshop there, supported by a strong CORE group, will have plenty to do.

The situation in Washington is even more complex, and is developing in several directions at once. All six of the pools run by the Department of the Interior will be opened on an interracial basis, and a spokesman for the Department has said that the work of last summer's Workshop was an important factor in making this possible. A great deal of work will still be necessary to assure the peaceful running of the pools on the new basis.

In addition to the swimming pools, two legitimate theaters will be opened in Washington soon on an interracial basis. Washington has been without any "live actors" for a year or so since its only legitimate theater was closed by the refusal of members of Actors Equity to act there while the management insisted on segregation in the audience.

An interesting development in the situation may be presented in the prosecution of Thompson's Restaurant for discrimination, by the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia. The case is being brought on the basis of an Act of 1872 which, although somehow it has disappeared from the statute books, has never been repealed.

F.O.R. Member to Lead Tour of France

Nelly Trocmé, daughter of André and Magda Trocmé, European FOR secretaries, who is studying in this country at Oberlin College, will lead a "Four Weeks in France" tour in July. It is for college students or other young people, and will consist of fifteen people. The tour will include Paris, ancient and modern; Chambon sur Lignon, and the College Cevenol there, headed by FOR member Eduard Theis; Massif Central, the central mountains of France; and Provence and the Roman monuments. The tour is under the auspices of the Columbia University Travel Service, and is the second Nelly Trocmé has led.

The cost of the tour will be $650 from New York to New York. Anyone interested should write to Mr. F. Kaufmann, Academic Travel Association, 42 Broadway, New York 4, N. Y.

National F.O.R. Budget Revised for 1950

Because financial returns for the first three months of the year appeared to make it mandatory, the budget of the National FOR was cut down, beginning with April, by $7,550. The changes for the most part entail increased stringency in the use of supplies, telephones, etc., in the office. A saving of $1,626 is effected because the bookkeeping and administrative department is getting along with about three-and-a-half instead of five people (last year it had six); $2,100 is to be shaved from such items as telephone and telegraph, office equipment, stationery and postage; $600 has been cut from the literature printing budget; $2,000 which was to have been set aside as an employee emergency fund has been eliminated, and the Budget and Finance Committee is working on an overall pension plan; and $1,224 will be saved mainly because the Philadelphia FOR has taken additional responsibility for Charles Walker's salary and because Nevin Sayre was away for two months on a world tour.

This represents a total saving of $7,550, and brings the budget down to $99,800, from $107,350.

Youth Argosy Organizes Trips Abroad

Youth Argosy, which arranges low-cost trips for travelers who want to be ambassadors of good will from country to country, has announced its plans for 1950. In 1948 it arranged 800 passages to or from Europe, and in 1949 arranged 10,000, including 7100 Americans to or from Europe, 2700 Europeans to or from this country, and 60 all or part way around the world.

Youth Argosy's president is Monroe Smith, founder of the Youth Hostels. (Youth Hostels are still going strong too—trips through various parts of the country and abroad by bicycle or foot, ranging from $115 for a New England tour to $780 for one around the North Sea or the Mediterranean.) Youth Argosy is an educational, nonprofit organization with the serious purpose of broadening intellectual, cultural and spiritual horizons and cementing friendly relations with young people of all nations, creeds and races. For information write to International Headquarters, Youth Argosy, Northfield, Massachusetts.

You can build

HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA

Because of the Atom Bomb more than four thousand families are still homeless in Hiroshima.

A small, interrace, interfaith, group of American students under the direction of Floyd Schmoe, are going to Japan again in June, to join with Japanese volunteers in building more homes for bombed-out families, as a gesture of good will and understanding.

You can help with your contributions . . . large or small . . . now or later.

Mail contributions to

HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA
c/o Friends Center
3959 15th Street N.E.
Seattle 5, Washington

Jimcrow Cemetery Reconsiders Policy

The municipal cemetery at Klamath Falls, Oregon, which restricted lots to members of the Caucasian race, found a good deal of opposition to its policy, and reconsidered it. In August a Negro war veteran was buried in the old Linkville cemetery because of the restrictions in the municipal park, and when the policy became known protests were widespread. The City Council of Klamath Falls responded by setting aside a section of the park for the exclusive burial of non-Caucasians.

When news of the decision got about, various groups and individuals, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the FOR, circulated a petition, rallied support, and at the next meeting of the City Council presented their case, one of whose main points was that it would be unconstitutional to make such allocations on the basis of race. The City Council gave further study to its decision, and at its next meeting quietly abandoned its segregation policy.

Three to Lose Jobs Over Loyalty Oath

Doris Shamleffer, Elizabeth Haas, and Dr. Miriam Brailey, all FOR members and members of the Society of Friends, were to be fired from their jobs in Baltimore because they refused to sign a loyalty oath. Under Maryland's Ober Law all state and municipal employees were required to sign, but the three women found they were conscientiously unable to do so. (See "Statement to an Official," by Elizabeth Haas, in the September 1949 FELLOWSHIP.)

The law was tested before the Baltimore Supreme Bench last year, which ruled it unconstitutional; but the State Court of Appeals recently ordered it reinstated.

Pacifist Fired for Refusing Oath

George B. Thorp, FOR member of Ridgefield, New Jersey, who was a special lecturer in mechanical engineering at the Newark College of Engineering, lost his position in February for refusing to sign a loyalty oath under New Jersey's law. He said he could not sign the oath "in good conscience" because it "abridged and infringed his constitutional rights." In March his petition to the State Board of Education appealing from the ouster was filed by Emil Oxfeld, American Civil Liberties Union counsel.

New York's Interracial Fellowship Chorus, under the auspices of the Interracial Fellowship, 86 Morningside Drive, New York, now has over 150 members and has sung in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Town Hall, Radio City, and many large churches.

The Chorus is preparing now for a concert to be given on May 18 at 8 p.m. in the Hunter College Auditorium at Lexington Avenue and 65th Street.

YOU CAN MAKE CERTAIN YOUR FAMILY WILL HAVE A HOME! Special Mortgage and Rent Insurance Contracts. For information: DEANE STOCKTON STEVENS, 74 Trinity Place, New York City. WHitehall 4-0200 or NEvins 8-4296.

Work for Unsegregated Schools

In Wilmington, Ohio, there are four grade schools, three for white children and one for Negroes. Until 16 years ago all children were admitted to all of the schools, but since that time Midland, located near a grain mill and a railroad, with three teachers for the 53 children, has been maintained for Negro children only, and they are not admitted to the other schools.

Recently Mr. Charles Graham attempted to enter his son in one of the white schools, after discussing the matter with the Board of Education. The child was refused admittance, and lawyers whom he consulted suggested that he should get individuals in the community interested in the problem. A group was formed called "Workers Against Discrimination," six of whose 20 members were students at Quaker Wilmington College.

Discussion of the issues with members of the School Board resulted in an outburst of resentment on the part of officials against the organization and against the students of Wilmington College. As a result, the School Board passed restrictions on practice teaching by students of Wilmington College in Wilmington public schools. Only a limited number will be accepted, and these will be screened by both the School Board and the college, and will each have one specially designated teacher as supervisor.

It was reported that the students who participated in the interracial organization had been told that they must either give it up or face the possibility of leaving Wilmington College. Three agreed, but the other three did not. No action has so far been taken.

Bromleys Evicted, Ernie Arrested

Ernest and Marion Bromley and their baby son were evicted from their two-room apartment in Wilmington, Ohio, on March 20, and Ernie was jailed on a charge of resisting arrest. The Bromleys laid their eviction to their participation in the campaign against segregation of whites and Negroes in the schools of Wilmington, although the apartment owner said it was "because of his association with the 'Peacemakers' pacifist movement and his refusal to pay Federal income tax."

Witnesses of Ernie's arrest said the constable objected when he took photographs of the eviction proceedings. A scuffle for the camera followed, leading to the charge. After spending the night in jail, Ernie was released on "good behavior" and a fine of $50 was suspended. The conviction was later reversed on appeal.

The Jehovah's Witness group which was refused the use of the Grand Rapids, Ohio, school auditorium for a meeting is still barred, after the decision of the Sixth District Court of Appeals in Ohio. The court ruled that the Witnesses are "not a responsible organization, and responsibility means more than mere financial responsibility." It cited their refusal to serve in the Army, to vote and to serve on juries.

Peace Action Abroad

Muriel Lester in South Africa

Muriel Lester writes from this uniquely beautiful country about the festering sore of the color bar there. Yet she is amazed at the many champions of the oppressed. She speaks of the horrid innovations in post-offices and other Federal offices, such as the posting of notices over certain seats, doors and rooms to the effect that Europeans may use some and non-Europeans others.

She writes of calling on Miss Attlee, who has been working there for many years among colored, Malay and native people. As they reminisced, Muriel told Miss Attlee how much she owed the Prime Minister and her other brother, Tom, who helped in the early difficult days of Kingsley Hall. Miss Attlee's tiny home is right in the midst of the colored peoples' area.

An American Through English Eyes

Kathleen Rawlins writes "all unheralded, Richard Gregg turned up to lead our discussion, being on his way home from India . . . In bearing he was full of repose and gentleness, with that essential quality which is quite indescribable—I think it must be in very actuality what Gandhi tried to describe as soul-force . . . He spoke with an inflection that I would like to convey in some notation, like music! I can only describe it as the lift of a voice that habitually tries to give human comfort and encouragement . . .

"Talking of India, he spoke of the continuing village educational work . . . saying that, after years of absence from India, he was delighted to find the work so grown and improved in quality as well as quantity and that, if it could go on for another twenty years, a new, happy, nonviolent India would have been born . . .

"Of the situation in Europe he said . . . 'Our leaders are really followers of the millions who have got lost in the jungle of materialism, the hunger for things which begets mutual suspicion; and pacifists must first become utterly trusting people themselves (if you catch yourself locking your suitcase, then there's somewhere to begin). . . . Get a few of these little boys I see running around on bomb-sites to sit down, and teach them a few songs . . . Two or three of this group might do some tidying up . . . if someone goes out in a street and starts something six other people will come . . . if you take an extra spade along, someone'll soon be using it.'

"Another piece of advice was 'try to make what you habitually do correspond with your beliefs . . . Remember there is a time for solitary and a time for group action. When Gandhi came back to India from Africa his first years were mostly spent in solitary fasting and action.' "

Vernier and Belgian Miners

Since October, 1949, Philippe Vernier, with the concurrence of his congregation, is combining a full nightly shift in the local coal mines with his pastoral work. He writes:

"We are trying more and more to form a community where everyone gives and receives something, rather than a clerical organization where the parson monopolizes the spiritual activities and where the others are content with attending the services and paying their membership fees. It is partly to fit myself better to this conception of the community, and partly also to get into closer contact with the miners, next to whom I have been living for ten years." He goes on to speak of many marvellous contacts with new comrades: Belgians, Italians, Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Latvians and others.

Vernier also reports the transformation of an old slag heap into a playground with a beautiful view for the children of a school destroyed by bombing during the war. It has been made into a large, well-levelled surface, surrounded by seats and with an open-air stage.

A Mother's Peace "Plan"

An English mother has a pen friend in the Russian Zone of Germany who is headmistress of a school and a member of the War Resisters' International. This mother's children, aged eleven and six, have pen friends in the school.

On the boy's birthday, he received greetings, paintings and drawings from every scholar in one class. There is real friendship and interest between these German and English children. The mother says that the German parents write to her and express the desire that their children will grow up in friendship with children of all nations.

In their classroom the German children often speak of the English children. Sometimes Russian boys and girls go into the classroom, and the German headmistress says, "So three nations are living in perfect peace."

The German children write letters in their own language and the English daughter tries to translate them, using a German-English dictionary. The English children save some of their sweet coupons to buy chocolates for their German friends.

The mother says that she heard this conversation between her six-year-old son and his playmates: One said, "Let's play at shooting Germans." The son, horrified, replied, "I shall *not* play at that."

The mother does not deny him guns although she will not buy them for him, she believes that he will discard these toys himself as he matures.

A friend made a tank for her son. One day he said to her, "Mummy, can I throw this in the dust-bin?" "Why?" she asked. "Because they kill men," he replied.

"These are only small incidents," the mother says, "but they give me hope and I only wish that more children of all nations could be friends."

H. Runham Brown, British founder and leader of the War Resisters International, died on December 19 at his home in England.

Books

CO's Experiences

China Changed My Mind, by David Morris. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949. 202 pp., $2.50.

Among the continuing flood of new books on China, the present title is almost automatically unique in that it was written by a young English conscientious objector, and tells of his experiences from 1942 to 1944 with a Friends Ambulance Unit in China.

Two threads are interwoven. One is of outward events: life as a truck driver hauling precious drugs on the famous Burma Road, observations on Chinese temperament, politics, prisons, poverty, etc. The other is the record of the writer's inward struggle in reconciling his course of personal pacifism in constantly changing and testing situations of latent and overt violence. There is no separation of the strands. Together they form a highly readable, entertaining, and thoughtful commentary.

A selection of chapter headings indicates some of the topics treated: The Chinese Road, Charcoal Burners (Trucks) and Chinese Food, Day Off in a Chinese City, The Work of the Friends Ambulance Unit in China, Chinese Time, The Chinese Army, Chinese Mechanical Genius, Missionaries, A Chinese Prison. Morris is a shrewd observer and calls a fine sense of humor into play as he writes. It is clear that members of his Unit are deeply disturbed by the situation facing them, a mere nine, surrounded by "the four hundred and fifty million Chinese." Convictions as Christian pacifists, preliminary first aid training, and a determination to render constructive humanitarian service were no assurance against the following causes of perplexity and discouragement: "The dictatorial methods of the Generalissimo's Government, its feeble attempts to control inflation, the refusal to let drugs through to the Communist area, the corruption and inefficiency of some Chinese officials, the difficulty of struggling against Chinese ideas of time," etc.

One suspects an unjustified generalization—perhaps merely a bit of careless wording—in the comment and conclusion "that the Chinese were a cruel race could not be denied. A poor man dying in the streets would be passed by a hundred Chinese, because they feared that, in helping him, he would die on their hands and they would have to bear the heavy expense of his funeral."

Especially is the above conclusion puzzling when, two pages later, we read: "But the finest things in China were as ancient as her civilization. . . . I was never once refused food and a night's shelter in even the poorest peasant's hut."

Morris expresses his Unit's obvious distaste for the urban Protestant missionaries with their relatively comfortable standard of living, but he is frank to acknowledge the probability of limitation of his view: "Perhaps, as we never got

far from the big cities and the roads, we got a prejudiced and inaccurate view of foreign missionaries in China. Away from the road in remote places there were undoubtedly pioneer missionaries doing fine work in difficult conditions . . . "

While the title of the book, *China Changed My Mind,* evidently is a "catchy" one, it is not quite accurate as applied to the spiritual decision to which it relates in these pages. Toward the end of his account, Morris feels increasingly the ineffectiveness both of the Unit's total humanitarian contribution, and of his own personal witness as a Christian pacifist. Following a petty incident in which he lost his temper and engaged in a physical altercation with some Chinese soldiers, Morris finally (after two years) came to the conclusion that "no one was entitled to claim exemption from military service on one aspect of Christianity unless his whole life was a shining example of Christian ethics. If one claimed a saint's privileges, one must live like a saint. . . . And I decided that I was not prepared to change my habits. Christianity was much too hard for ordinary human beings. And since I was not prepared to live like a saint I did not see how I could claim exemption from military service."

Morris, acting upon his stated conviction, applied for entrance into the British Army. In the light of this transparently honest acknowledgment, it is interesting to turn back to Chapter II, The Beginning of a Pacifist, and read the writer's still held conviction: "Many believed passionately that war was wrong and absolutely contrary to the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. I believed this *and still believe it myself.*"

Two years in China, it would appear, did not change Morris' mind as to the essential validity of the Christian pacifist position. Rather, it served to remind him that he personally felt unqualified to pursue further, with consistency, so difficult a role. This book presents a stimulating reminder of the tensions faced in deciding upon a Christian course of action, related both to the immediate and the ultimate, the attainable and the ideal. —ROBERT F. BEACH

Military and Education

Dangerous Trends, Porter Sargent. Boston, 1948. $2.00.

The latest and 31st edition of Porter Sargent's annual survey of American education indicates some of the problems our educational institutions face as a result of military control, loyalty probes, weakening of academic freedom, and interference by boards of trustees. Among the more revealing passages are those showing the capitulation of President Conant of Harvard to conservative and military interests, the decline of academic freedom at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and the implications of Eisenhower's appointment as President of Columbia University.

There is a chapter on totalitarian trends in which there are such subheadings as "The American Century," "The Brass Hats Move In," "Scientists Enchained" and "The Effects of Conscription." The book does not actually discuss in any detail the militarization of education, either through ROTC or science appropriations. Rather, it is an attempt to survey the whole educational atmosphere of Amer-

ica. In addition, it contains some specific reporting on colleges and private schools which is not available to the general public.

There are some well-phrased passages like the following: "Academic freedom, like other freedoms, is a matter of concern only when freedom is being restricted. One who is under no restraint doesn't think of freedom. Freedom is something one becomes conscious of when it is denied him. Security, on the other hand, is more often in mind. It is continually being threatened. So 'security of tenure' is what is most often in mind when academics speak of freedom."

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

Mennonite CPS Story

Service for Peace, by Melvin Gingerich. The Mennonite Central Committee, 1949. 508 pp., $3.00.

Subtitled "A History of Mennonite Civilian Public Service," this book does for MCPS what *Pathways of Peace,* by Leslie Eisan, did a year ago for Brethren CPS. Both books give historical backgrounds of the peace testimony in their respective groups; go on to an account of negotiations leading to CPS; describe various forms of service rendered in camps and other units; glance at special aspects of administration; and come around to a tentative evaluation.

A foreword to the book states that Mennonite experience of civilian state service in Russia "was a relative success and in fact served as the inspiration and pattern for much of the idea and some of the practice of CPS in America." The Mennonites consider this CPS pattern "essentially a success (showing the way for) nonresistant groups under similar circumstances."

Melvin Gingerich recounts the steps leading to the particular pattern of CPS—alternative service, without pay, under joint government-church administration. He gives pros and cons of evaluation, and suggests his own belief in a "quiet type of witnessing."

In keeping with this attitude, there is emphasis throughout the book on actual service done and on the spirit of the "second mile." Quiet as is the telling, there emerge the trials, terrors, disappointments: Roosevelt's early friendliness and subsequent change of attitude; the gradual feeling of a tightening of SS regulations (e.g., Mr. McLean's famous "not rights but privileges only" letter); the increasing resignation or belligerence of objectors as they saw the war stretch on and their families grow more needy.

In a chapter on camp administration Melvin Gingerich analyzes the complicated system of responsibilities and frustrations that CPS became, and he records that though MCPS had little open rebellion, "there were those leaders who agreed with the one who wrote . . . : 'I feel that SS should be responsible to finally execute and administer any policies they set. If they own a man's twenty-four hour day, they should provide their own administration. . . . '"

Service for Peace has documentation, bibliographies, index, and pictures. It records alternative service as administered by a group who are active in social and political pacifism, but who "seek to realize peace by winning the souls of men for Christ, not simply by opposing war."

—WILLIAM STAFFORD

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Letters

Questions . . .

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am sorry to feel that John Swomley's reputation as a reporter and interpreter may be considerably jeopardized by his article "Israel's Future" in the March FELLOWSHIP. This article bears the earmarks of irresponsibility. He mis-states some problems, gives a confusing analysis of others, and also presents some serious mis-statements of fact.

Mr. Swomley chides the Jews for an "easy" acceptance of war and militarism in the new State of Israel; writing that she has "used military force against her neighbors" just as if it were a calculated and long debated decision, and goes on to tell us about problems created by war, a subject which hardly needs delineation for FELLOWSHIP readers. Now there is plenty of evidence that it was no "easy" acceptance which moved the Jews when they took up arms against overwhelming odds as they were violently attacked on all sides when the British Mandate ended. If ever there was a situation to give a pacifist genuine pause it was the plight of this little group of people, theoretically under the protection of the United Nations which had no power to protect them, and faced by a half dozen corrupt and dictatorial governments vowing complete destruction of the Jewish homeland. Israeli leaders still tell us that the most important requirement for the new State is peace, and that Israel can and must work out peaceful relationships with her neighbors. Interestingly enough also, most Israelis have a feeling that it was not force of arms that really won their victory. How could it be that a few thousand, poorly armed and equipped, could prevail against the vast arms of the millions who were their adversaries?

If Mr. Swomley wants to come to grips with the issue of violence in regard to Israel I think in all fairness he ought to tell us why it would have been better for the Israelis to have made no resistance to the Arab onslaught, and how, considering the nature of Arab aims and civilization, the technique of nonviolence could have been applied in this instance.

In stating that "Arabs were driven out" of Israel, Mr. Swomley implies that the numbers amounted to some 726,000. One familiar with the situation can hardly say that the Arabs of Israel were "driven out," and since there were less than 500,000 of them within the Israeli part of the Partition Plan, and since nearly 100,000 of these remained, Mr. Swomley's statement is very confusing and inadequate. He neglects to point out, first, that the refugees were the victims of the war declared by the Arabs; and secondly, that nearly half of them came from the Arab portions of Palestine left without a government when the British withdrew, and for whom the Arab states made no provisions for law and order.

Or once more. Mr. Swomley speaks as though the Jews declined an opportunity for the creation of "a bi-national state" in which "the Jews and the Arabs can be equal partners." Many Jews at various times have been friendly to such an idea. Actually there has never been the slightest possibility of its achievement. The only possible peaceful alternative—and

that remotely possible only—which the Arab states have seriously considered (to their open hostility to the Jewish homeland) was a bi-lateral state in which the Jews would have a definite minority status. Anybody familiar with Near East history must understand that that would be tantamount to destruction.

Again. Just what is the impression Mr. Swomley means to create in declaring inflation "rampant in Israel" because of the war? He takes figures for 1939 as an index of 100, showing that by 1945 this had risen to 253, and by 1947 to 271. All this before the Israeli-Arab War. True enough, as Mr. Swomley states, the figure had risen nearly 100 points more after the war, but this paragraph on inflation and the connection with war is not conducive to a clear understanding.

Finally, Mr. Swomley fails to do justice to the simple fact that the whole problem is infinitely complicated and that many factors beyond either Israeli or Arab control have plagued the country—and will continue to do so. In short, Mr. Swomley, in the guise of dealing with a problem of nonviolence, has not helped his case but rather has added confusion on this and numerous other matters.

JOHN PAUL JONES
Brooklyn, New York

. . . and Answers

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

John Paul Jones' letter implies that the Israeli-Arab war was the simple result of an Arab attack. In a publication of the American Christian Palestine Committee Dr. Jones gave a clearer picture of the problem, as follows:

> "What the Jews called defense appeared as aggression to both British and Arabs. Somehow the Stern Band and Irgun Zvai Leumi got bombs and arms and certainly the Arabs had plenty of both. The Administration finally arrested the outstanding Jewish leaders and with them committed hundreds of Jews to jail on charges of conspiracy. Shortly afterwards one wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem blew up, killing a hundred people, nearly half of the senior British officials perishing with them."

It is true that the Arabs are very guilty for the war and its aftermath, but that is no reason for excusing Israel.

My article on Israel's future assumed:

1) That a so-called "defensive war" even in opposition to "a half dozen corrupt and dictatorial governments" is still war and as such morally wrong.

2) That nonviolence is not a uniquely Indian thing but could have been used by the Israeli forces in Palestine. If we must accept Dr. Jones' statement that "considering the nature of Arab aims and civilization" nonviolence could not have been applied, must we also agree with those who say that considering the nature of Russian aims and civilization, nonviolence would not work?

3) That the Jewish contribution to the world is not necessarily a governmental one to be measured by success in setting up a nation, but rather a prophetic moral leadership which may be injured as the result of a religious group's using war to set up its own state. Is partition of India based on religious cleavages basically different from partition of Palestine on religious lines? And does such religious nationalism justify war?

The figure of 726,000 refugee Arabs which John Paul Jones attributes to me is the estimate of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East as reported in the November 19, 1949 New York *Times*. This Mission points out that these are all from Israel and "unable to return."

The figures on inflation, which Dr. Jones does not dispute, are just one more

indication that war intensified Israeli problems. I do agree with the criticism that the Israeli-Arab problem is very complex and complicated by factors beyond Israeli or Arab control. I fear the war complicated problems still further.

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.
New York City

Contributions

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The F.O.R. group at Yale Divinity School this year voted to contribute to your office half of the income of its treasury. This money is being earned by members who are contributing a day's wages to the group to enable it to have a working treasury.

Enclosed please find a check for $27.25. We hope that there will be more at a future time.

H. MACY WHITEHEAD, *Treas.*
Yale Divinity School F.O.R.
New Haven, Conn.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

This is for me a time of shrinking income (what wonder at 82 years of age!), but so long as I have anything to give, you may be sure the FOR shall have a part.

SUSAN F. HINMAN
Elyria, Ohio

Ex-Prison CO

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I appreciate receiving the statement by Garry Davis. I shall circulate it here at Earlham College, for I know that there are many who will want to see it. His conversion is significant; I myself think that a person who starts thinking along the lines followed by Garry Davis must discover pacifism to be a necessary part of what he is attempting.

I want to express my gratitude for the support of the FOR staff in New York and the many FOR members throughout the nation during the past year. From that very first telegram in the county jail I was made aware of the fact that we were all associated in the incident, and that peace-loving and peace-working people are widespread and earnest. The flood of Christmas greetings impressed not only us, but the other inmates and the officials. Men who had been informing us that "the whole world will take a buck" and "everyone is out to get all he can" began to wonder. One poor narcotic addict said, "Well, I guess I couldn't get all the other dope fiends in the country to write to me!"

RALPH E. COOK
Richmond, Indiana

UTOPIANISM

(*Continued from page* 16)

sinners, these, or we who make this charge and profess to see how desperately the world needs a reaffirmation of the Christian hope for society and belief in the kingdom of God, and who nevertheless also still cling to the existing order, its comforts and its privileges, and are not ready to leave all and follow Him?

(This is the third of a series of articles by Mr. Muste.)

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: **Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.;** ***Far West:*** **Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.;** ***Southwest:*** **Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.;** ***Middle Atlantic:*** **Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.**

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